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- 4.—(i) The answer is in the affirmative.
- (ii) Yes, but the reports are filed in the office of the Director-General, Indian Medical Service, and not in that of the Surgeon-General.
- (iii) Yes. But Reporting officers are required to see that all unfavourable remarks are communicated to the Medical officers and that they are not kept in ignorance for any length of time, of such unfavourable remarks.
- (iv) There is no invidious distinction.
- (v) Yes. The attention of the hon. Member is invited to paragraph 251 of the Civil Medical Code.
- (vi) The rule cannot act detrimentally to the interests of any Medical officer. A good officer has nothing to fear from it, and a bad officer is given a chance of mending his ways, which he would not get, if he were not warned.

II

MOTION EXPRESSING APPRECIATION OF THE SERVICES OF MR. E. S. MONTAGU.

Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR :—“Sir, I thank you in the first place for allowing me to make this motion. The motion that I would like to place before the Council runs thus :

This Council wishes to express its warm appreciation of the invaluable services that the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu has rendered in furthering the cause of Indian progress and his strenuous advocacy of the interests of the Indian Muslims in the settlement of the Near Eastern problems. This council further expresses its deep concern at the termination of his office at this critical juncture in the affairs of India.

“Sir, the announcement of the resignation of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu contained in the newspapers of Friday last came to us as a great surprise and also as a painful surprise to the country. Even though it was said by a conservative Prime Minister that good government is no substitute for self-government and even though it was one of the accepted principles of liberalism that all governments should be for the people and by the people, Lord Morley, who represented the high water-mark of liberalism in his day, stated in the year 1909 that he could not foresee the time when India could be self-governing. But it was left to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu within a few weeks of his assumption of the office of the Secretary of State for India to make that historic announcement of the 20th August 1917 that the proximate goal of Indian Government was self-government. Well, Sir, the circumstances that were then existing helped the announcement that was made. It may be that the announcement was made owing to the exigencies of the war and also owing to the changed angle of vision due to the experience of the war but we cannot forget the personal element and the personal influence of the gentleman who made the announcement itself. He not only made the announcement, but even during the war when the hands of the Government were preoccupied with the making of arrangements for the successful prosecution of the war, he even found time to come to India to make inquiries and set us on the way to self-government. Well, Sir, both with regard to the announcement that was made and with regard to the arrangements made for starting us on the path of self-government, there is hesitancy perceivable

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and they are to a certain extent halting. We will have to take into consideration the circumstances under which he was placed. He was a member of the Government—a coalition government—and when once decisions were taken, they could be got through the Parliament easily; but in taking those decisions there was to be much give and take, more giving than taking. And the fact that in spite of these difficulties, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu was able to get through this measure of reforms and that he was able to make that announcement shows the real feeling that he had and the sympathy that he possessed for India. Sir, in the governing of one nation by another, sympathy and imagination are qualities which play a great part and but for these qualities the relationship between the ruler and the ruled is not likely to be lasting. Sir, imagination is necessary to understand the difficulties, to understand the feelings and to understand the aspirations of the people who are ruled. Sympathy is necessary to help the people in realizing their aspirations. I claim for the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu these qualities of sympathy and imagination to a very large extent. It may be that in certain matters of detail, it will not be possible for people to see eye to eye with him, but I am sure there will be nobody in India who will deny to him these qualities of sympathy and imagination and also an amount of sincerity to give effect to the feelings that he had.

“Well, Sir, he not only set us on the path to self-government but he also took part in bigger matters. In the question of Imperial matters, he placed India on an equal basis with the other self-governing dominions. In the Imperial conferences, he gave India the status of a self-governing colony; not only that, even in deciding Imperial problems and in considering international matters, the position of India as a self-governing unit was admitted and India was given the position and rank equal to that of the other self-governing colonies. That, Sir, is an achievement for which we ought to be very grateful to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu and the other gentlemen who acted with him in advancing our cause.

“Then, Sir, there are always those difficult questions, questions that always stare us in the face, namely, the position of Indians in the colonies. In Kenya, the present position of the colony is due to Indian immigrants, Indian labour and Indian capital. They first went there and developed the colony. Europeans stepped in later. There are also other colonies like some of the South African colonies where also the share of the Indian in the development of the colony is admitted. It is well known that the Indians have not been treated in the way in which they ought to have been treated and the feeling in India itself is very strong in these matters. The Secretary of State has completely adopted the views of Indians in these matters and has been urging with all the fervour and with all the strength at his command the proper treatment of Indians in the colonies and this is a matter, Sir, about which India ought to be grateful to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu.

“Then there is the question that is agitating the country very much at the moment, namely, the position of the Muslim countries as a result of the treaties that are being talked of and settled. With regard to that, the point of view of the Indians has been different from that of the other countries and to some extent probably different from the other parts of the British Empire. Well, Sir, even in this matter, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu has taken great interest and has been forcibly urging the view point of the Indian Muslims before the allied conference. He has been trying to have our view point accepted in the councils of the world. Well, Sir, it is a pity

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that these representations made by Mr. Montagu should have been viewed differently by the other members of the Cabinet at Home. It is not for me to say whether the constitutional point that has been raised and that has led to the resignation of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu is correct or it is as was stated to be or as explained by him. Whatever it may be it is a matter of very great regret to us that as a result of this constitutional question he should have been forced to relinquish his high office at this juncture.

"Sir, the present moment is a moment of great anxiety in India as well as elsewhere so far as the matters abovesaid are concerned. In India the difficulties of the transitional system, which he has introduced as the half way for the attainment of self-government, stare us in the face. The great deficits that have been found to exist in the budget of the Imperial Government, as well as in the budgets of the several provinces, show that the people ought to be given much more control over the expenditure of the country than they are given now.

"Then again, Sir, there is this question of the political agitation in the country. I strongly advocate, and I have no doubt all reasonable people will agree, that all people ought to be prepared to support the Government in counteracting the forces that tend to disorder, anarchy and chaos. At the same time, I do not believe that repression can meet a situation like the present one. Repression can for the time being give a sort of show that things are all right, but eventually it will be found that it is only reconciliation and a proper understanding of the difficulties of the situation that can meet, and that that is the only way that would help us in the adjustment of things and in the bringing about of a permanent and everlasting peace. Well, Sir, these are difficult matters that have been agitating the country from within; but outside, our position is no better, if anything, it is worse. With reference to the colony of Kenya, that erratic statesman Mr. Churchill in his post-prandial speech announced that that colony ought to be European, that its nature as a European colony should not be disturbed and ought not to be changed, and that he was not going to change that in favour of the Indians, even though Indian money had been spent very lavishly and Indian blood had been shed profusely in bringing that country to its present position.

"Again, Sir, with regard to the Turkish question, the question of bringing about a permanent settlement is still being considered. It was only last week that Lord Curzon was to have gone to Paris, from there probably to Geneva to ultimately decide that question. In a time like this, if we had a gentleman of the well-known sympathy, the well-known knowledge and the well-known imagination of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu, we can rest assured that the view point of India will be urged with all fervour and with all earnestness before the allied Powers, and that justice, at least such justice as is possible under the circumstances, will be obtained for the views that are held by the Indian Muslims and by the country generally. But, by this resignation we have lost the helping hand of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu. If at any time it was required, it is certainly at this critical juncture to solve all those difficulties that remain both within and without. Not only this, Sir, some of the newspapers are now saying that the policy enunciated by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu has gone with him, gone for ever, and that we will have to go back to old ways, and that the country will have to be ruled not with self-government as the goal but with something else.

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"Well, Sir, if I can say anything from this Council on this matter it is this: nobody will be doing a greater wrong not only to India but also to the whole British Empire than he who proposes that we should go back, that the policy laid down by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu ought to be abandoned for the present moment, and that we should go back to old days and old ideas of governing the country. For these reasons, Sir, India now sorely feels that the resignation of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu is a great misfortune. I already stated, Sir, how much we are indebted to Mr. Montagu for all that he has done and has said, and his sudden disappearance from the management of the affairs relating to India is the most unfortunate one. So, Sir, I venture to place this motion before the Council, both to express our appreciation of the invaluable services rendered by Mr. Montagu to India, and also to express our deep concern at the termination of his office at this critical juncture in the affairs of India. I hope that this Council will pass this motion with an unanimous voice."

Diwan Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO PANTULU:—"Sir, in associating myself with the motion I hope that this will be accepted 11-15 a.m. unanimously, and that the sense of loss sustained by India will find adequate expression in this Council. Perhaps hon. Members are aware that in most other provincial Councils resolutions expressing the regret of this country have already been adopted, and in the two chambers of the Indian legislature the matter has already received attention. Sir, this episode raises very grave constitutional issues, and until the issues are settled it is no use discussing the exact merits of this question. Sir, it has been our experience for a good many years that the Secretary of State for India in Council has two capacities. He is there both as a Minister of the Crown and also as a Secretary of State representing the interests of this country. There have been previous occasions when conflict between these duties of the Secretary of State has arisen, and on all those occasions the Minister representing the Crown has had the better of the Secretary of State representing the interests of India. Mr. Montagu's great merit is that throughout his career as Secretary of State for India he has placed the interests of India as his primary concern, and has always placed them in the forefront of his duties as Minister of the Crown. It is no surprise that the interests of India have once again come in conflict with the policy of His Majesty's Ministers. It is a matter for sincere regret that his ceaseless activities on behalf of India, his courageous purpose in the cause of constitutional reform, and his general anxiety to stand for India, should have resulted in his resignation.

"Sir, the universal regret is shared throughout India for more than one reason. The first is that Mr. Montagu is the author of the new constitutional system which was inaugurated last year. I need hardly say anything on this subject. This is not the time to examine the merits of that scheme. If Mr. Montagu had continued in office he would have been the first to rectify any obvious defects of the scheme and accelerate further the course of constitutional progress of this country. Therefore, Sir, the history of Mr. Montagu's career as Secretary of State for India is the history of constitutional reform since 1919. This history is within the memory of hon. Members, and it is absolutely unnecessary for me to refer to it. There is only one matter which I should like to place before the Council. He contributed not a little to winning general acceptance for the principle of the responsibility of the administration to the people of this country and to its

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partial concession in the case of the provinces. That is the essential feature of the scheme he has inaugurated, and we have been looking forward to the time when this step of responsibility will be accelerated and rapidly introduced in the central Government, and to the time soon after when the principle of provincial autonomy will be conceded. That was the expectation of India, of the members of the Councils and of the heads of some of the provinces. His Excellency referred to it a few days ago, and in more than one public announcement His Excellency has associated himself with our own hopes of the rapid realization of our wishes in the matter of self-government. Sir, that is the reason why there is this chorus of universal disapproval of the action of His Majesty's Ministers in regard to the resignation of Mr. Montagu.

"Mr. Montagu did his best to shift the very axis of Government to the shoulders of the people. After all this is a thing which when once the move is begun is bound to expand. His strenuous advocacy to give us a place in the comity of the nations, to put us on terms of equality with all the other dominions is a service which nobody in India could easily forget. It is quite likely that now that he is not in office an attempt may be made to go back on the admission of political equality which has been established on behalf of India. If any such attempt is made it will be disastrous to the whole of the British Empire. Perhaps I may draw the attention of hon. Members to the remarks of a contemporary writer of great insight into Indian political conditions, Sir Valentine Chirol—

'We may restore in India, and through India all over Asia, a new and reinvigorated faith in the British Empire's mission, if we do not shrink from putting into practice in our dealings with her the principle of partnership in rights and duties on which our Imperial Commonwealth of Nations has been built up. We have enshrined that principle in the new constitutional charter, we have of our own free will bestowed upon India. But if we pay only half-hearted homage to it, and our own people, whether at home, or in other parts of the Empire, or in India itself, whether statesmen or soldiers, or administrators or merchants, succumb to the temptation of trying still to combine with it in practice a disingenuous survival of the old idea of domination of one race over another, after we have so solemnly repudiated it, we shall drift the more rapidly and disastrously on to the quicksands of racial strife and chronic disorder which, though they may fail to overthrow the British rule, would steadily weaken, and perhaps paralyse, its power for good that is after all its one enduring justification. If, on the other hand, we fulfil that which we have always recognized, and to-day with renewed clearness of vision, to be our mission in India, by reconciling the elements in Indian civilization and our own, and if we can convert our commonwealth of free British nations into a free commonwealth of free Western and Eastern nations on a basis of real equality, we shall set an example of no less value to others than will be to ourselves our own achievement.'

"Sir, these sentiments are peculiarly appropriate to the present occasion. My hon. friend the Mover has already referred to the attempt that is being made to re-open this question of political and racial equality which has been established by the proceedings of the Imperial Conference. To the extent to which good faith will be kept, to that extent there will be some amount of belief in the continuity of the administration which has been set on foot by Mr. Montagu.

"There is only one other remark I should like to make, that is, in regard to the political situation, and the bearing on it of Mr. Montagu's resignation. The hon. Mover has already referred to the fears that have been expressed in regard to the impending change of policy. There is no doubt that there is considerable room for these apprehensions. I may perhaps quote what the *Daily News* has observed on the subject—

'We hear disturbing rumours from Downing street of a new policy of resolute rule in India. If this means merely an intention to suppress disorder firmly, the action must be judged solely on its merits, but if it means an open reversal of the policy of appeasement and goodwill

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pursued by Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading as consistently as they were allowed to maintain it, we may soon be faced with a crisis greater than that of 1857. The Government have already made a serious mistake by the failure to speed up reform and the abandonment of progress altogether and the substitution by ruthless campaign of military suppression will be a blunder worse than crime.'

"No greater truth has been spoken, and we trust that whatever may be the results of this resignation there will be no change in the policy pursued till now, and that these fears and apprehensions which come from certainly well informed source will prove groundless. Therefore, this Council is justified in holding out the warning that if there is such a reversal of policy it will be, in the words of the *Daily News*, 'a blunder worse than a crime'. With these words, Sir, I commend this motion for the acceptance of the House."

Mr. ABBAS ALI KHAN:—"Mr. President, Sir, it is indeed singularly unfortunate that India at the critical period of its existence should have been deprived of the services of a great man who, whatever his faults may have been, whatever his shortcomings, has striven sincerely, faithfully, constantly and whole-heartedly for the prosperity, contentment and welfare of our Bharata Mata.

11-30 a.m.

"Sir, impelled by the strange fascination of the East, Mr. Montagu embraced the cause of India with an amount of zeal, fervour and earnestness which was at once the envy and the marvel of the world. Struck with the strange and chequered but romantic history of India, he applied himself heart and soul for the uplift of the dumb, silent, starving millions of India, who in their poverty and ignorance were dragging a most miserable and precarious existence. Knowing full well that with love and care India is one of the easiest to be governed of any country in the world and that the salvation of India must come from the hands of her sons and that the rule of an alien bureaucracy, however benevolent it may be, could not have that human touch, that human sympathy for suffering which is so essential for the uplift of India, he gave us a constitution which, however defective in its design, however crude in its conception, however limited in its application, promises to open a new chapter in the history of India and one of the greatest experiments of the world. It is left to us to work them out successfully.

"The services he has rendered to India are legion. His association of Indians in ever increasing measure in the government of this country, his creation of an Indian peer, his appointment of an Indian as the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, his aim at associating Indians in the chancellories of Europe, are all acts which will be handed down to posterity by an admiring, grateful and sincere nation.

"Sir, we owe our present existence to him. Where were we two years ago? Where are we to-day? God willing, are we not nearer the goal set before us by him?

"Sir, before concluding, as a Mussalman I am particularly grateful to him for so boldly and fearlessly championing the cause of Moslem India. The treaty of Sevres, instead of giving peace to that long suffering and unfortunate nation, viz., the Turks, has heaped misery over misery on them. I must confess, Sir, the treaty of Sevres has put a severe strain upon the traditional loyalty and friendship of Mussalman India towards the British Raj. The Moslems all over the world, from Moscow to Mallapuram, from Bokhara to Boston, from Hongkong to Honolulu, are profoundly agitated over this

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unfortunate treaty. The sooner it is revised in consonance with the wishes of the Moslems, the better it will be for humanity and the world at large; for then it will bring peace, contentment, tranquillity and happiness to millions and millions of human beings.

"It is a fitting climax to a life of devotion, love and faith in India that his great but not the last sacrifice of his life, viz., his position, has been for the cause of India, to promote within peace and prosperity.

"Sir, we and our posterity will ever gratefully remember and cherish with affectionate regard and loving care the memory of the great and historic services rendered to our country by this great and noble son of Zion. May God give him long life, strength and vigour to champion the cause of weak and poor India. (Amen.)

"Sir, the clouds are gathering on the horizon, the skies are black, but I trust and sincerely hope that there will be no change of policy, no change of heart, no hysterical cries of halt, no withdrawal of the sacred pledge of August 1917, no betrayal of the trust, but that the new Government will carry on the Government even more liberally and sincerely than before. If not, Sir, India will think that England is not willing to apply within the confines of India those liberal principles to establish which outside the Empire she went to war."

The hon. Mr. P. RAMARAYANINGAR :—"Sir, I have great pleasure to associate myself with the previous speakers in acknowledging with gratitude the great services which the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu has rendered to India. Sir, I need hardly say that India owes a deep debt of gratitude to the retiring Secretary of State. If India is to-day on her way to responsible government, it is in no small measure due to the ability, tact and disinterested perseverance of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu. He has done a great deal for India and that in right time. Sir, in his zeal to advance reforms in India he might have made mistakes, but in spite of these mistakes India can never afford to forget the very valuable services rendered to her by him. Indeed it is deplorable that he should have to resign his appointment as the Secretary of State for India at this critical time. Sir, I support the resolution."

Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR (*Advocate-General*) :—"Mr. President, Sir, if I rise on this occasion to associate myself whole-heartedly with the remarks that have fallen from the various hon. Members who have already spoken, it is for two reasons. In the first place, it is not often given to an Indian to claim a European, least of all a European statesman of the calibre and position of Mr. Montagu, as either a national or a personal friend. In the next place, it is not often given to us to find in the public manifestations and in the private life of a statesman in England such a continuous, such a burning, such a passionate love for another country translated into action, and such an overwhelming desire to do the best and to give of the best that is in him for the service and uplift of that country. It is for these reasons that I desire to say a few words on this occasion. Those of us who were privileged to be present in England during the passage of the Reforms Act, the Government of India Act of 1919 and during the evidence given before the Joint Select Committee, could not but have been aware that at every stage it was Mr. Montagu's one pre-occupation and his sole anxiety to see that the cause of India was fairly, strenuously and continuously put forward in the best possible fashion. The amount of help that he rendered, unseen, unsuspected, to a number of persons, so as to combat

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the many lies that were circulated regarding India and its possibilities and future, the amount of unofficial assistance that he rendered to persons who had gone there, not only at the expense of their time and, in the case of the Secretary of State, at the expense of being misunderstood by those who were by no means friendly to certain of the aspirations which were voiced by persons who went there; if those things are taken into account, it cannot be gainsaid that Mr. Montagu gave his heartfelt and sincere services for the good of the country of his adoption.

"Now, criticisms have been levelled and probably are being levelled against the Government of India Act of 1919. Of no Act probably can it be said that it is perfect. Unless complete Swaraj was handed over to us, it is very likely there would be persons who would say: 'We could have got more; we could have had it in a better fashion; the machinery might have been more perfect and the manner of working it more natural, and the evolutionary processes might have been devised so as to produce less creaking of the machinery than has been produced.' All this may be just and legitimate criticism. But consider the position in which India stood in 1919 and consider the position in which India stands just now. So far as its political evolution is concerned, is there any one who can say to-day that there is any inevitable hindrance or block, provided and always provided there is goodwill between Europe and India, in the way of India coming to its own? The answer is no. Who is the person who has removed the blocks and hindrances, who has made the new spirit possible? It is no other than Mr. Montagu, and not only in the political sphere of the Government of India but in other respects also his services have been conspicuous. I think it is due to Mr. Montagu to say that he is the first British statesman of eminence who not only enunciated but carried into practice the doctrine that India as a political entity ought to be treated as equal to every other political entity forming the confederation of nations which make up the British Empire. No doubt, at present the person who goes abroad as representing India does not go there as an elected representative of India, but he goes there as a representative Indian in a vaguer sense. What is even this achievement due to? It is due to the unwearied and tireless exertion of Mr. Montagu. It is a vindication of the self-respect of India's nationality, it is a vindication of India's place in the sun which we owe to Mr. Montagu.

"In many ways could I dilate upon this thesis, but I do not desire to take up the time of the House. I conclude by saying that whatever opinion may be held as to the constitutional aspect of Mr. Montagu's resignation, whatever opinions may be held as to the correctness or otherwise of the particular theories of Government which have been evolved and which have produced the Government of India Act, the verdict of posterity, the verdict of history will be nothing less than this that Mr. Montagu was a great friend of India, a great and trusted friend of Islam, and, indeed, one of the greatest that she has had in her long, hard, and chequered career."

The hon. Rai Bahadur K. VENKATA REDDI NAYUDU:—"Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with all the sentiments expressed in this House on the resignation of, as has been said, the greatest friend India ever had. It is not for us in this Council to question or discuss the reasons which necessitated this resignation. It is for the British Cabinet and for the British nation. We in India having received the greatest benefits which any great British Statesman could confer, it is due to him and it is due to us that we should

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pay our tribute—that tribute or homage which every human being, which every nation ought to place at the feet of those who made their way easy for the attainment of freedom and liberty. Mr. Montagu, Sir, has given to India a status in the Empire. He has given India a place in the councils of the world. And, above all, he has placed India on the road to liberty, to responsible government. That he should be taken away from his office even before we reached the first milestone on that journey—often believed to be long but hoped and expected in India to be short, a journey which we expected that the masterhand of that great statesman would assist us in shortening—is perhaps due to the misfortune of our country.

“It has been said, Sir, that after his resignation there might be some change of policy. All that we can say on this occasion is that we hope that the British statesmen will not fail to recognize that with Montagu or without Montagu any change in the policy which has been inaugurated by him would mean a serious consequence not merely to India but to the whole empire as well. (Hear, hear and applause.) Sir, there were occasions on which I had to use strong language against Mr. Montagu. The party to which I belong had at one time great complaints against him and against the proposals that were put forward from the Secretary of State's office. On many points we could not see eye to eye with him. I was perhaps one of those that was most seriously cross-examined before the joint committee of the two Houses. For about three and a half hours I was under his cross-examination, and I suppose it was Mr. Montagu who took the longest time. But, Sir, you will pardon me if I refer to a personal matter. After the cross-examination was over, he came out to the place where I was still sitting and said: ‘You have given your evidence in a characteristically courageous manner.’ Well, Sir, I do not mention this as anything complimentary to me, but I mention this to show that he cross-examined me with all the vigour at his command and with all the skill that he alone could exhibit and at the end of it he had the courtesy, gentlemanliness and the nobility to acknowledge the just cause of the teeming millions of this province which I had the honour at that time to represent.

“Sir, it is not necessary for me to go into the merits of the scheme which he has inaugurated. History will record whether that has defects or not. But history will also record that he is one of the noble band of statesmen whose politics are not confined to the little island to which they belong, but whose patriotism extends over the whole world. (Applause.) It is in that light I would submit that Mr. Montagu is to be ranked.

“He has, Sir, done things which perhaps any other statesman would have taken decades and decades to accomplish. Within the short
11-45 a.m. space of three years, he has been able to do for India so much indeed that I am not able to see any parallel in the history of the world where so much has been done for any country ruled by another nation. That, Sir, will give us some idea of Montagu's services to this country and let us hope that while his resignation is inevitable he may yet come back to us, it may be a little later, to complete that huge edifice for the foundation of which he worked so hard and take us on to that real responsible government which is at the heart of the whole of India.” (Applause.)

MR. T. ARUMAINATHA PILLAI :—“In rising to support the motion moved in this House by my Friend, Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar, and so ably supported

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by my other hon. Friends, I could only say, Sir, that the resignation of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu came upon this country with a staggering effect, more staggering, Sir, because only a few weeks back it was announced by himself that there was no idea of resignation at all. So far as his services to this country are concerned, one could very well say that his resignation caused sorrow throughout the length and breadth of this land as evidenced by the various reports appearing in the newspapers as the opinions of various eminent persons of this land. Surely, by the resignation of Mr. Montagu, India lost the best supporter it had ever had ever since the history of British connexion with India began. Mr. Montagu was not the man who would be satisfied with the memorable announcement of 20th August, 1917; he is not the man who would be satisfied with going round the country and interviewing some of the people and taking evidence from them; he is not the man who would be satisfied only with the issuing of a bulky and voluminous report; but, followed by all these things, Mr. Montagu introduced the Reforms as early as possible and tried his best to satisfy the demands of all the communities in this presidency and in the other portions of India. And not merely he introduced the reforms, Sir, as early as possible, but in appointing the provincial satraps, I believe he had taken to heart that satraps ought to be appointed from persons who would see his policy carried out, and not persons who would be only figureheads and put a block in our way. And especially in this presidency we ought to be thankful to Mr. Montagu for having given us a provincial Governor who had administrative experience in India before he came to this presidency.

"Various reasons are alleged to the resignation of Mr. Montagu, but I do not think it is necessary to go in detail into those causes. There is a feeling throughout this country for the loss sustained by India owing to the resignation of Mr. Montagu and this feeling is shared by all classes of people. There is no difference of opinion as to the fact that the resignation of Mr. Montagu has been brought about in order to satisfy the die-hards, the persons who are opposed to the progress and to the welfare of the people of India. I may be right or wrong, but this opinion is prevailing. In spite of the mischievous propaganda of the non-co-operators in this country who have been agitating for the last two or three years, if the Indians have had any confidence in the Britishers, it was because that a statesman of the type of Mr. Montagu was at the helm of affairs. But Mr. Montagu has resigned and the British people and the British Parliament if they want to command the same confidence, if they want Indians say the same thing about them as is being said of Mr. Montagu, would not stint to go forward on the path which has been chalked out to them by Mr. Montagu.

"I do not believe, Sir, after the very beautiful speeches that have been delivered by my friends here, there is anything to speak further. I wholeheartedly support the motion before the House."

The hon. Rao Bahadur A. P. PATRO :—"Sir, representing my constituency and my country in general I associate myself wholeheartedly with what our leader Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjea has said that this event is a great calamity to India. At this juncture, Sir, when we were expecting eagerly and all moderate elements were working towards the reaching of the goal of full responsible government, that the forces, the reactionary forces, the enemies of progress of our country should have been successful in ousting the one true friend of India, is indeed a calamity. Sir, when we felt that the

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real remedy and the royal remedy for the great unrest in this country was to give the people full responsible government and make them realize the responsibility of Government, then he realized it and set to work towards it. He had few friends in England and few friends in India; nevertheless without fear of opposition he worked on and the whole history of the working and the consideration of the Reform scheme would disclose what a friend we had in Mr. Montagu. Now, Sir, when he was realizing with us that Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia, all of them got full responsible government and a national form of Government, when he was sympathising with us, just at this juncture that the great statesman should have been taken away from the helm of Indian affairs is indeed a calamity to India. I appeal to my countrymen not to despair and be afraid of the reactionary forces. We are determined to stand by our rights. If at any time the reactionary forces are to prevail let it be a warning to British statesmen that, come what may, we Indians as a whole will unitedly stand by our rights. Therefore we need not be afraid of the reactionary forces. But let us now realize that with greater determination we should work by peaceful means and with greater determination to reach the goal. I am sure there is not a single soul calling himself Indian in this country who does not feel the great and serious effect of the resignation or even the driving away of this friend of India. There is, as you know, one person who has been a staunch friend of India and has been incessantly working with the ex-Secretary of State Mr. Montagu, and who was first Governor of Bombay and now Governor of Madras. His Excellency Lord Willingdon was associating himself wholeheartedly with all the progressive policies which Mr. Montagu had been sketching out for India. My hon. Friend Mr. Ramachandra Rao has referred to the recent utterances of His Excellency the Governor. But if you know better of Lord Willingdon and a little more behind the curtain you will understand, Sir, with what determination, with what earnestness, with what sincerity and with what anxiety of the high British statesmanship he has been advocating the claims of Indians. We have not agreed with Mr. Montagu in all that he said and did. There were disagreements. With few friends in India and with the very few friends in England Mr. Montagu has fought the battle for India and now at this juncture that he should be removed is indeed a great calamity. I therefore associate myself with what Mr. Ramachandra Rao and Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar have said on this resolution."

Mr. SAIYID MUHAMMAD PADSHA SAHIB :—" Sir, I am very glad to have the privilege of associating myself with the motion just moved by my hon. Friend Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar. Sir, the disappearance of Mr. Montagu from the India Office would always be regarded as no small loss by this country and his forced resignation, at this critical juncture, is nothing short of a calamity. There is nobody who is anybody in the political circle of India who has not been rudely shocked at the unhappy tidings of his resignation. People of all parties, of all sections and of all shades of opinion in India have with one voice said that this resignation is anything but calculated to allay the present political situation in India. Sir, the disappointment, the extreme regret which is so universally felt all over India at his resignation is a proof patent of the high esteem in which Mr. Montagu was held in India and of the implicit confidence which the Indians had reposed in him."

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“Sir, Mr. Montagu while he occupied the position of the Secretary of State for India had time and again given the assurance that, in spite of all the difficulties in India, the old policy would be pursued. Now, Sir, that he has been removed from his post at the helm of Indian affairs, people are anxious whether his absence from the India Office would mean a new orientation of policy or a change in the angle of vision. Sir, it cannot be denied that India is now passing through difficult times, and if the Indian affairs required any careful handling at any time, it is at this moment, and if the directing hand of one like Mr. Montagu was required at the head of Indian affairs at any time, it is at this critical juncture. Instead of dilating long on these things, I would at once repeat the warning sounded by the hon. Ministers who preceded me that whether with or without Mr. Montagu we expect England to do her duty by India.

“The services rendered to India by Mr. Montagu are so well known to all that it is needless for me to enumerate them here. Sir, of all the Secretaries of State he was far and away the stoutest and the staunchest champion of the Indian cause and there can be no better example of his manly sympathy for India than the noble sacrifice which he has made in doing his duty by the Indian people entrusted to his charge.

“Sir, before I sit down, as a Mussalman and as one representing the Mussalman constituency, I would fail in my duty if I fail on this occasion to express the sense of deep and eternal gratitude which the Indian Muslims feel for Mr. Montagu for his bold and unflinching advocacy of the Muslim cause. To the Muslims in India, Sir, Mr. Montagu's resignation is nothing short of a great catastrophe.

“Sir, if in spite of the disappointment the Indian Muslims felt at the Treaty of Sevres, if in spite of the unhappy state of the Turkish affairs which gives the Muslim world such an anxiety, the Muslims have still hopes of their religious question being properly and rightly solved, it is, in a large measure, due to the strong faith which the Muslims have in the sympathy and support of Mr. Montagu. Very few statesmen in England have so well understood and represented the Muslim feeling in India as Mr. Montagu. Not only did he fathom the depth of Muslim feeling in this matter, but he also realized the justice and the necessity—the indispensable necessity—of giving it its due weight and consideration. No doubt the Indian Muslims feel perfectly confident of and thankful for the unceasing efforts on the part of the Government of India to bring about a happy solution of this problem. But, Sir, nothing offered such an indisputable proof of the efforts of the Government of India in this respect than the unhappy publication of their recent recommendation on the question. It is a matter for extreme regret that this publication which breathes such a message of hope to the millions of Muslim hearts in India and which tends to soothe and satisfy the public opinion in India was regarded as one which violated the traditions of Imperial policy and broke its unity. It is a great pity, Sir, that while opinions expressed in post-prandial speeches, opinions on questions—”

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“Order, order. I fear the hon. Member is straying from the motion before the House.”

MR. SAIYID MUHAMMAD PADSHA SAHIB :—“I humbly submit, Sir, that when opinions are expressed which are anything but calculated to soothe the

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feelings of India they can go unchallenged, while a publication of this sort which has a salutary effect has been regarded as such an unpardonable sin that it could not be wiped out by anything but the resignation of Mr. Montagu who is so indispensably necessary to India at the present moment."

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—"Sir, in supporting this motion, I wish to associate myself with all that has been said on the subject by those who have preceded me. Even as an Under Secretary of State which office he held between 1910 and 1914, Mr. Montagu was taking a great deal of interest in affairs connected with India and was evincing the greatest possible friendship for this country. When he was Under Secretary of State for India, hon. Members of this House may remember that he visited this country and had conversations on political and other matters with people belonging to different schools of thought. When he was holding no office, on an occasion when a discussion on an Indian topic arose in the House of Commons, he expressed in the strongest terms possible that a radical change in the system of administration of this country was essential. Soon after that, this House may remember, he was called to office as Secretary of State for India, and that was in July 1917. Very often, people in England who are either in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords and who express certain opinions change these opinions when they hold office, but was that the case, Sir, with the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu? No. Immediately after he gave expression to those views in the House of Commons when he was out of office. He was called to office. The first important act that he did after he assumed the reins of administration was to give expression to that memorable declaration of policy on the 20th August 1917, wherein he enunciated the policy of associating in an increasing degree Indians in every branch of the administration and of the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. This, Sir, was the most important pronouncement made by any English Statesman after this country came under the sway of the British. After that pronouncement he came out to this country, travelled again in different parts of the Empire, elicited opinions from persons holding different shades of opinion and submitted a report to Parliament, the well-known Montford report. And it was mainly, if not solely, through his patience, perseverance, tact and love for India that he was able to pilot the Government of India Act through the House of Commons. After that Act was passed, he has continued to evince that interest in Indian affairs which he always evinced before that. To put it briefly, Sir, Mr. Montagu has been the strongest and best Secretary of State that India has ever had (Hear, hear), and the greatest calamity that can befall the country at this unfortunate time is the resignation of Mr. Montagu. It is to be earnestly hoped, Sir, that this unfortunate and deplorable resignation will not lead to any change in the policy of the administration, and I venture to state, Sir, that if there is any foreboding with reference to a change in the policy of administration, this country cannot and will not stand it. I hope, Sir, that at no distant date the hon. Members of this House will see the desirability of erecting a statue for Mr. Montagu in this House, which is the direct result of the reforms for which he stood sponsor. With these words, I support this resolution."

Dr. P. SUBBARAYAN :—"Mr. President, on behalf of the zamindars whom I have the honour to represent in this Council, I heartily associate

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myself with the sentiments that have fallen from the various hon. Members who have spoken on this resolution, and I only wish to put a few points before the Council. The one thing that Mr. Montagu has done for this country is that he has given this country an international position. It was due to Mr. Montagu's influence backed up, of course, by the Prime Minister for whom I have the greatest admiration in spite of all that is said against him for the last few days in the press both in this country and in England. For it was Mr. Lloyd George who, when receiving the freedom of the City of London, said that there were two things near to his heart and for the solution of which he would strive. Those two things are the question of Ireland and the question of India. Now, Mr. Lloyd George has solved the problem of Ireland, and I am pretty certain that Mr. Lloyd George if he retains office for any length of time will solve the problem of this country as well. With these two preliminary remarks as regards the Premier against whom we have heard so much, I go on to Mr. Montagu.

"Had it not been for Mr. Montagu's support to the Premier, I am sure the Premier would not have been able to carry forward this principle of giving India a position in the comity of nations. It was Mr. Montagu's labour which gave Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir a status in the British War Cabinet in the year 1917. Soon after that, Mr. Montagu made a pronouncement in the House of Commons—I mean the pronouncement of the 20th August 1917*, which was carried through both the Houses of Parliament owing to the ability of Mr. Montagu in spite of all the impediments that had been placed in his way. I am sure hon. Members would agree with me when I say that those impediments were very great and the fact that Mr. Montagu has been able to carry through his scheme of reforms, however little it may be, in spite of the impediments placed in his way both in this country as well as in England, speaks a great deal not only for Mr. Montagu's interest and sympathy, but for his conviction and his courage. (Hear, hear.) It indeed requires immense courage to give responsibility to India. I am sure hon. Members of this Council will remember what Lord Morley said in the House of Lords some 12 years ago. This was what he said. He could not bring himself to look forward to the day when responsibility could be introduced into the Government in India. By responsibility he meant the executive being responsible to the people of this country through the elected representatives in the Legislative Councils. When Lord Morley himself who was reckoned in those days as a great friend of India was not able to carry out this principle, that Mr. Montagu was able to carry out this principle of responsibility in his Government of India Act speaks a great deal for his courage.

"Again, Mr. Montagu has been a true representative of the people of this country in the House of Commons. I do not think any Secretary of State would have had the courage to put before the Cabinet the feelings of the people of this country as voiced by the Government of India as he has done for the last two years. The fact that the Turkish problem looms large in the eyes of the world to-day is really due to Mr. Montagu. It was Mr. Montagu, knowing the feelings of our Muslim brethren in this country and knowing full well that the heart of India would not be satisfied unless this question is adequately solved, put their case very strongly before the

* This consummated in the Government of India Act of 1919.

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Cabinet, and it is for his action on this question that he has fallen, and I am sure posterity will say 'Here was a man who laboured heart and soul for this country but lost because there was a large vociferous opposition against him'."

MR. O. TANIKACHALA CHETTIYAR :—" Sir, Mr. President, I should like to associate myself with all that has been so eloquently and ably said by the various members of this hon. House who have previously spoken in great appreciation of the invaluable services rendered by Mr. Montagu to India. Sir, during the five years or the four and a half years during which he was in office he has accomplished what with the best attention the Secretaries of State during the previous fifty years were not able to do. Sir, himself a chela of Lord Morley, he exhibited his love for India and its advancement during the time he was Under Secretary of State under his chief. When in 1917 he became the Secretary of State, he took on hand the task of the betterment of India and took a step forwards towards the goal of self-government.

" His administration of Indian affairs, Sir, was characterised by broad sympathy and undaunted courage. He undertook the stupendous task of those reforms and for that purpose he undertook a personal investigation which he made along with Lord Chelmsford. And this he deliberately took upon himself for the highest good of the Indian people. As my hon. Friend Mr. Reddi Nayudu said, the non-Brahmans had no doubt a grievance against Mr. Montagu because he did not see eye to eye with him in the matter of communal representation and the reservation of seats, with the result that they had come up by their own effort and it can now be said that during these 15 months during which the reforms have been worked in this country the non-Brahmans have stood solidly together during these troublesome times. Sir, we doubt, we hear it stated, that the publication of the despatch by the Government of India was the immediate cause of the withdrawal of Mr. Montagu from the India Office. Sir, as signifying the temper of the British people, we find in an English paper, the *Punch*, a cartoon, which arrived here last Saturday and which left England long before this despatch of the Government of India was published, we find there a conversation between Mr. Montagu and Mr. Gandhi each one saying to the other : ' One of us must go.' And John Bull standing before them asking ' Why not both ?' It is unfortunate that such a thing should gain ground in England. We have been so impatient for the successful carrying out of the reforms. Mr. Montagu was looking after the interests of the Muhammadans and the Indians not only in India but also in Kenya and other colonies. And we hope that there will be no set back by reason of his resignation. And we hope that there will be no going back from the policy which he enunciated.

" Before I sit down, Sir, I cannot help remarking on one significant circumstance: that one section of the House is completely absent and it is regrettable that such a thing should have occurred and that there should have been room for such a remark."

MR. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—" I have also great pleasure in associating myself with the previous speakers. It may be said that we the Members of this Council whose presence is entirely due to the reforms might be in our heart of hearts grateful to the Secretary of State Mr. Montagu who has launched this scheme of reforms. But if you take the man in the

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street what will be his view so far as these reforms are concerned? He may say 'whoever may reign Rama or Ravana the immediate result of these reforms has been that we are asked to pay 3 pies by way of tax where we have been paying only one pie.' But we must explain to him the position. If a man is affected by a serious disease and the doctor is consulted, the doctor would apply a serious remedy. In a time of serious illness if the doctor is asked he would ask us to give a large quantity of poison so that his life may be saved though the mind may get wrong. No doubt with the best of intentions the services have been so enormously increased that we are asked to pay taxes thrice as much as we have been paying. Yet we must tell the taxpayers that the reforms will soon give this Council more powers and we may not then have such a costly bureaucracy and in years to come the result would be that we may rule the country and not only that, we may then tax the people to the least extent possible. Then, Sir, we cannot ignore the ordinary Englishmen in the country—of course, there are honourable exceptions who think that the people of India also are entitled to equal rights along with the other nations of the world. But the feeling of the ordinary bureaucratic Englishman seems to be——"

The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I must ask the hon. Member to confine himself to the issue in the resolution, which is to express warm appreciation of the services of Mr. Montagu. I am very sorry to have had to interrupt the hon. Member."

MR. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"I bow to your ruling, Sir. I was only going to say with reference to what Mr. Tanikachala Chettiyar said, that these Englishmen also should join with us in such appreciation of Mr. Montagu's services and not keep themselves off. But for Mr. Montagu probably there would have been a revolution which from our point of view would have been very dangerous. As pointed out by the Advocate-General we must look to things as they were four years ago if we should be able to realize the present improvement. We have great ambitions at present but our ambitions have become great on account of Mr. Montagu's efforts. If in the place of Mr. Montagu there was a conservative Secretary of State who would have put down practically every attempt at reform, what would have been our position. We have only to compare our state in 1905 with our position now. When Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyar made a suggestion then that after all one member of the Executive Council may be an Indian, what a great stir was made that such a disloyal sentiment should have been expressed? In 1922, Sir, only five years after the Secretary of Stateship was assumed by Mr. Montagu we have an Indian majority in our Cabinets. The whole credit is for Mr. Montagu. This may foreshadow the likelihood of our getting immense powers very soon. We must remember, Sir, that it was in his time that it was considered fit to appoint the first Indian as a member of the Privy Council. It was again, Sir, during the time of Mr. Montagu that an Indian was considered to be fit to be a member of the House of Lords and a member of the British Government. Then again, it was the first time that an Indian was appointed Governor of a Province. These may be small things; but if we go back to 1917 and 1919 in our heart of hearts we must consider it a fact that but for Mr. Montagu, we should not have been in a position of equality—though at least in paper—which has been recognized. And though not by election at least by nomination our representatives have been allowed to sit in the councils of the Empire and of the World. Every one must recognize

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that all these are pre-eminently, if not entirely due, to Mr. Montagu. Fears have been expressed in this House that with the resignation of Mr. Montagu and his disappearance from the Cabinet a change of policy would be coming up. But so far as I am concerned it is not a fear; but it is a certainty. I am sure that Mr. Montagu did not resign because of the publication of the telegram. We know, Sir, that Mr. Montagu is one of the strongest statesman with a virtue of compromise in him. In order to satisfy the Englishmen in this country he gave them increments both in the number and in emoluments with a view to increase the reforms. With a view to satisfy the die-hards he probably sanctioned the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and thought at the same time that this publication was necessary—”

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ The hon. Member is again out of order. I must ask him to abide by my ruling ”

MR. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—“ I was going to say, Sir, that his resignation was not due to the publication of the telegram —”

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ Then the hon. Member will be wholly out of order. The motion is only to express our sense of appreciation of the services of Mr. Montagu. If on that resolution hon. Members are going to speak on English constitutional questions, I fear they will not only be out of order but they would also commit the House to a ridiculous position. To my mind it seems that we cannot go beyond the terms of the resolution.”

MR. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—“ I again bow to your ruling, Sir, but I have sinned with several previous speakers. I only wanted to say that his resignation was not due to the publication but that his attitude is such that he would stand by his convictions even though it cost him his appointment. I may also echo the feelings that have been expressed that we will very soon find him again as our Secretary of State; but I only hope that as the result of the election in England the Liberal and Labour parties will have a majority and that Mr. Montagu will become Secretary of State in that future Government and then will not be a Coalition Secretary of State but a Liberal Secretary of State not bound down in any way but free to act according to his convictions, and there is no doubt that India will become an equal partner in name as well as in fact with the great British Empire.”

MR. G. VANDANAM :—“ Mr. President, the services of the Rt. Hon.

12-30 p.m.

Ed. Montagu will come under four classes; first, he created a large body of electorate, secondly, he offered a training ground for Indian talent, thirdly, he accelerated the pace of India in the march of self-government, and fourthly, he raised the status of India in the British Empire and also in the comity of nations. Mr. Montagu was once reviewing his own work and while so reviewing the one great claim that he put forward was that he created a large body of electorate. It is true there was a small body of electorate before the coming of Mr. Montagu. The political consciousness among the masses was not at all roused but after he came to the India Office he touched the hearts and imaginations of all classes and communities of people so much so that the man in the street discusses nowadays national and even international politics and while discussing them with intelligence he makes a good demand for the enjoyment of his own rights. Thus, almost every man in India now knows what his rights are and also in a way some at least of his duties towards the Government.

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"Secondly, I said he offered a training ground for Indian talent. Now we see that in the front governing benches a majority of the people that occupy high places are our own Indian people and it is a matter for us to greatly congratulate ourselves on this achievement. We really see how well people have been fulfilling the duties that have been committed to their charge and all this is due to Mr. Montagu's selfless endeavours. Further, by the way, I may say that in the Reform scheme the Andhra country has a large share. We may see also in the Provincial as well as the Imperial Government that the Andhras at least for once have been recognized as leading statesmen. Now, when I say that he has offered us a ground for training Indian talent, I say it deliberately because in the Local, Provincial and Imperial Governments our Indian people have been taking a very intelligent share. The Indian people realize that the welfare of India is no longer in the hands of the English people but if India is to be happy it is entirely in the hands of the Indian people themselves. There is that consciousness in the educated people of our country. If he has stirred up the political consciousness of the masses, he has also stirred up a sense of responsibility in the educated people a feeling that they are no longer to live for themselves but must live for the whole country.

"As I said, the third service that he did to India was to bestow on us the gift of the India Act. We know that India was started on the road to reforms by Lord Morley's reforms. But if we compare Lord Morley's reforms with Mr. Montagu's the former are like a shadow. Mr. Montagu, as has been said already, has accelerated our path towards the goal and there is nothing that impedes that path so long as we realize our responsibilities as well as our duties besides realizing our own privileges.

"I said, the fourth thing that he did to India was to raise this country in the estimate of other nations. Some of our own countrymen who had been to western countries like Lord Sinha and others say that, although they had great gifts those gifts were stirred up by coming into contact with European and American politicians. By coming into contact with European and American politicians, they have been able to show how capable Indian men would be if they were given an opportunity. Indians were looking forward for opportunities to prove their mettle and Mr. Montagu had given them that opportunity. We see how well we can compare ourselves with politicians of other countries provided we have the chance. Sir, Mr. President, I say that Mr. Montagu has done all this in spite of the great opposition he had in England from reactionaries and also from inside India from the revolutionaries."

Mr. T. SIVASANKARAM PILLAI:—"Sir, I deem it a privilege to be given an opportunity to subscribe to this resolution. The resignation of Mr. Montagu brings to mind the story of the great Ramanuja who divulged a secret at the cost of his life to benefit humanity at large. We appreciate Mr. Montagu's services by our understanding him. We know that his was the greatest chance in one's life of uplifting a whole country. His achievement is one which has fallen to the lot of no other Secretary of State for India for all these long years in the Government of the British Empire. Perhaps it is in the scheme of things that he should disappear from this arena at this moment, after setting the Indian people on the road to Swaraj or self-government. No doubt his resignation has given rise to a feeling of despondency; that despondency is perhaps of the kind which the child feels

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when the mother leaves it after setting it on its feet and lets it try to walk by herself remaining out of sight watching. The great homage and the gratitude that we can express to Mr. Montagu's services is by trying to walk steadfastly along the road which he has set us upon. That is the only substantial way of showing our gratitude to not only Mr. Montague but to what all he stands for."

Mr. C. NATESA MUDALIYAR :—"Sir, Mr. President, the people of India must be extremely thankful to Mr. Montagu for he has not only given us the reforms but has also given the people of India a status among the peoples of the world. His extended franchise is in fact the first step to the free franchise that must follow. It is on account of the extended franchise that we have got the real representatives of the people of the land in this Council and also in the various Councils of India. In the history of India, for the first time the people of the land are having a hand in the affairs of the State. When the reforms were given it was doubted whether they would be successful. This Council and the various other Councils of India have proved beyond doubt that the reforms are not only a success but that we are ready for more reform and that we are impatient of waiting for the stipulated period of ten years for the next instalment. Sir, we want any amount of reforms under the British Government, provided communal representation is observed in its minutest detail. That is the only salvation for our India of castes and creeds. Mr. Montagu, Sir, was against communal representation in the beginning. I am sure it was owing to his not having sufficient knowledge of the people of India, especially of the people of this Presidency, and also it may have been due to his having believed the statements of self-imposed leaders. Sir, before these reforms came, these leaders complained of the grievances of the public when a public did not exist. They were complaining of headache when there was no head."

"Sir, in Mr. Montagu we are losing one of the most sympathetic, perhaps the most sympathetic Secretary of State and one of the ablest of the Secretaries of State we ever had. We thought through him the Muslim questions would be settled, but we are sorry to find that that was precisely the reason why he had to go. I hope the Secretary of State that is to succeed him will take a very sympathetic view of the Muslim question and try to solve it as amicably as possible."

Diwan Bahadur L. A. GOVINDARAGHAVA AYYAR :—"Mr. President, I beg to support this resolution. Hon. Members who have preceded me have spoken of the great ability and the tact and the courage with which the Rt. Hon. Ed. Montagu has discharged the very difficult and delicate duties that were entrusted to him. Of him, Sir, perhaps the saying might be uttered with even greater truth than was uttered by another who was a Viceroy that he loved India best next to the land of his own birth and the reasons that have led to his resignation indicate how great and burning was his love for this country, his anxiety to keep the people of this country informed not merely of the attitude of the Government of India but also of his sympathy with their legitimate aspirations. Sir, in the Rt. Hon. Ed. Montagu I reckon one of the world's greatest statesmen. It was he that gave definiteness and clearness not merely to the goal that all true lovers of India must keep before them but also to the means by which that goal could be effectively reached."

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“Reference has been made to the mistakes that the Rt. Hon. Ed. Montagu was supposed to have committed. He must be more than human if in the career with which he was confronted he did not make any mistakes. But all will recognize that even the mistakes that he has committed reveal the excellence of the man, the anxieties that he has been feeling that the goal that he has set for India should not fail to be accepted in consequence of any mistakes that he might otherwise have committed.

“There is just one observation I am tempted to make in view of the absence of the Civilian element in attendance at this debate and that is this. While the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu recognized—and every one of us whether we are in sympathy with the Reforms or not will recognize that he was right in that—that responsible Government is inconsistent with a bureaucratic Government, he was also anxious to safeguard vested interests and if we see what great pains he has taken to secure the claims of those already in the Civil Service, to see that their prospects are in no way worsened by the fact that the Reforms are to be an accomplished fact, one can recognize the sense of justice and fair play that dominated him. He was most anxious to do all that lay in his power for the purpose of bettering the condition of the Indian people, of putting them safely and strongly on the road to self-government so that they might by taking advantage of the opportunities that were put in their power be able to realize as quickly as possible their final goal of full responsible government, and coming as his resignation has done at this juncture, it is one that ought to make every one of us regret it, every one of us who feels for the betterment of this country, who is anxious to promote it to the best of his abilities. Sir, to me it appears that whoever may be the successor of Mr. Montagu, it will be difficult for him, if not impossible, to fulfil in their manysided aspects the duties and the rôle of Mr. Montagu.

“It is claimed—and I venture to think very rightly—for the Indian people that one of their best characteristics is that of gratitude and in no case can it be said that that gratitude is better shown or better expressed than in the case of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu, who I have no doubt will fill, when history comes to be written, a most honoured place in the doings of this century and whose name will be cherished by generations yet to come with great affection and with great respect and great regard for the various struggles he has been able to successfully pass through and for the single-mindedness and devotion with which he consecrated himself, as it were, to the betterment of India's condition.”

“MR. C. RAMALINGA REDDI:—Mr. President, I also associate myself with
12-45 p.m. the resolution now before the House on the occasion of the enforced resignation of Mr. Montagu. The unanimity of feeling that this Council has evinced to-day is almost unprecedented and this unanimity is not confined to this House only but is a reflex and echo of the unanimity of this empire. I have always been of opinion that we, Indians, are perhaps more responsive to kindness than any other people on earth and that from that point of view to win our gratitude might not be such a difficult thing to achieve as our dislike. It is to me a wonder seeing how grateful and responsive to kindness we are that there has been all this a dismal history of racial and political alienation between England and India for so long. It is to the great credit of Mr. Montagu that he understood us aright, that

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he read our heart aright, and created a new situation of which if full advantage is not taken by successive British statesmen, the fault could not be attributed to their ignorance but only to their deliberate disregard of the glorious possibilities revealed by Mr. Montagu.

“This is not the occasion for a detailed review of all the policies and measures with which the name of this illustrious statesman will be forever associated. Everybody would grant that there have been mistakes on his part, that he made miscalculations and that the situation in India has developed too rapidly even for his anticipations. He will be the most venturesome person indeed, be he European or Indian, who would claim to know all about the political intricacies of our country and who would claim to prescribe infallible remedies for all our ills. The utmost that I urge on his behalf, and I do not know if anything more could be urged on behalf of any man whatsoever, is that he tried to read the riddle of our country aright, read it honestly and with sincerity of purpose and that he read it better and further than any other statesman who occupied the high position that he has just now relinquished. As I said, this is not the time to enter on a detailed review of his policies and measures. But the bold outlines, the outstanding landmarks of his administration, it is not possible to avoid mentioning on this occasion. If it were, we should be reducing the resolution moved in such lucid terms by my hon. Friend, Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar, to a mere formality which it is not the intention of any Member of this House to do. Much passion and earnestness has been shown in this House and the reason for that passion, earnestness and unanimity is not to be found in the details of the career of Mr. Montagu but in these bold outlines and landmarks that I have just now alluded to. The ideal that he set himself to achieve for India may be expressed in the statement that he wanted to elevate us out of our old position of a dependency to the status of a dominion. From dependency to dominion, that was the motto of his policy, from vassalage to co-partnership. And the measures that he adopted in pursuance of this ideal, the legitimate right of every nation, could be broadly classified under internal reforms and the adjustment of external relations. With reference to internal reconstruction there is no need for me to add to the many things that have been said about the meaning and purport of the Reforms Act which is due to him more than to any other. I do not mean to belittle the part played by the Indian people themselves in securing that right. He has introduced the principle of responsibility which is the dissolving of bureaucracy. When and how soon the bureaucracy would dissolve, would depend on how we work these Councils, how we employ the power of the purse and legislation and other political privileges that are now in our hands. There has been a greater change of an executive or administrative nature which he introduced; and that is the complete change, if not in the nature and name, at any rate in the substance of the power he wielded as Secretary of State for India. Till now the Secretaries of State for India had been more rulers of India than representatives of it. It is to the credit of Mr. Montagu that he has introduced a new precedent in that while not prejudicing his position as a ruler he has tried his best to act more as a representative than as a ruler of our country. In so doing he was bringing the Secretaryship of State of India into line with the Colonial Secretaryship. It was this parallelism in a field where he was not dependent on the parliamentary will and the force of public opinion in England, the parallelism between the Dominions

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and India, that was his mission to establish. Much has been said by my hon. friends here about the new angle of vision that had been so much talked of during the war. Except in the case of Mr. Montagu I am of opinion that there has been more angularity of vision and it is only he that has brought to the discharge of his duties that larger outlook, wider sympathy and higher idealism which came almost to the degree of creating nausea, the hollow profession and resounding phrase of war psychology. As we watch the adjustment of our external relations, his mission becomes still more explicit. In the first place he gave us not as a matter of sufferance but of right an equal place with the dominions in the inter-imperial councils. The new nationhood of the dominions composing the British Empire was not to be satisfied by mere equality among themselves but aimed at equality with the sovereign states of the world also; and that again was secured by giving India not as a matter of sufferance but as a matter of right a place in international councils like the Versailles Conference, Washington Conference and the League of Nations. To have raised our country within the short space of four years from the position of a dependency patronised at best, and despised at worst, into that of a co-partner of the British Empire sitting as an equal with the rest of the nations at inter-imperial and inter-national councils, that is an achievement for which if this country is going to be ungrateful, it would never deserve to prosper. (Cries of hear, hear.)

"I have thus classified, Sir, in bold terms the lines of advance which he chalked out for Indian statesmanship in so far as it is Indian in the main, if not in name, but in intent, purpose and substance. But I am sure we will be going to less controversial fields still if we dwell for a moment on the spirit with which he worked. That is best revealed by a glance at the formidable obstacles that he had to encounter and which he successfully overcame in connexion with the Reforms Act. I do not look upon Mr. Montagu as one who created a new cosmos out of an ancient chaos. On the contrary he is best explained in his efforts towards marking one of the great landmarks of advance by the line of policy which had started with Lord Canning and which in its wake in its time had been served nobly by Lord Ripon and others down to Lords Minto and Morley. I put this point forward not to belittle the achievements of Mr. Montagu but to give them their proper perspective and significance. If we thought that all that was done was done by Mr. Montagu alone we will be prejudicing our interests. In the first place, we should then be losing sight of the historical connexion, of the continuity of this policy; and we should be plunging ourselves for no reason whatsoever into the kind of despair which was voiced by some of my hon. Friends here. On the other hand I look upon him as an agent of the better mind of England and of the legitimate aspirations of India. It is in discharging this double trust, the trust of England in her Secretary of State and the trust of India in her Secretary of State with new emphasis on the 'her', that he has won for himself a unique position in the annals of statesmen. He belongs to the small tribe, a rare one indeed, to which belong Lord Canning, Lord Ripon, Lords Minto, Morley and Hardinge, which might be regarded as constituting the moral justification of the British Empire in India. The very act on the ostensible score of which—I do not wish to discuss lest I should be called to order—he has been forced into eclipse, which we all trust will be temporary, is symbolic of the new nationhood of India that he has himself in such a large measure

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aided to build up. Up till now on all questions of foreign policy, India had to approach by the secret door, in humble whispers to the powers that be. She had not the same freedom as the other dominions to speak in her own voice, to speak openly, to speak frankly. I hope the days of backstairs whispering are over and those of general open discussion and frank publicity have come. The publication of the dispatch by the Government of India and the Secretary of State is an action in full conformity with the new status that India has won under their auspices. It is for this reason that India has a right to claim to judge and pronounce her judgment on the resignation. It is because he represented us, it is because he bent down holding our banner aloft that we have every right to say how much we deplore the turn that events have taken. My hon. friend, Mr. Muhammad Padsha Sahib, referred to another distinguished Cabinet Minister who had perpetrated a similar indiscretion, if indiscretion it could be called, which had been perpetrated so often by Cabinet Ministers, with reference to the policy to be pursued towards the Indians in Kenya and told us that while post-prandial declarations have been allowed to be made without calling people into account, a new test and a more rigorous measure has been applied to Mr. Montagu. Perhaps, my friend does not know that at the end of a dinner people are not supposed in quite a responsible frame of mind. (Laughter.) This publication of the Indian Government's dispatch is a declaration to all the world that India will in future where her interests are vitally involved speak with the same openness as the Dominions. We are not bound by the judgment that England may pass on Mr. Montagu or anybody else. We have come to years of discretion constitutionally speaking, and we must claim the right and exercise also the right of judging public servants connected with India ourselves and from our own point of view. Whatever opinion the British public or the British Cabinet may take about Mr. Montagu, we in India have a duty not so much to Mr. Montagu as to ourselves to form our own judgment in the light of our own conscience and in accordance with our own interests and to pronounce our judgment fearlessly. Doing that we in this Council whole-heartedly join hands with all the sister councils in India, Imperial and Provincial, in claiming Mr. Montagu as the greatest maker of modern India.

“ Sir, some of my friends have used this occasion to moralise. I deprecate moralising. Some of my friends have given a warning to the Government that this resignation should not become the first incident in a series leading to a reactionary policy. I would rather not spoil, I may use the expression, the sentiment of this occasion by trying to do business also at the same time; but I would refer to two passages in Mr. Montagu's speeches and writings which are, in my opinion, the very highest tribute to the regard in which he held our country. The first is in that famous report issued in the joint names of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu in which they say that, however exceptionable some of their proposals may be in the light of cold reason, still they have been put forward ‘because of the faith that is in us.’ It is faith that leads us on and not the logic of materialism. I would refer to another statement in his famous Cambridge speech breathing the same confidence and regard. He said ‘I believe in the people of India’. It is the man who believes in the people of India that ought to be the Secretary of State. If such a Secretary of State is dismissed, we look to the Imperial Government to appoint in his

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stead a man of true faith in us, one who believes in the people of India. However that may be, if we the people of India, believe in ourselves as much as Mr. Montagu did, and will have the same courage and the same perseverance, I am sure in spite of this lamentable event, our onward march could not be thwarted or impeded by any power on earth."

The motion was put to the House and carried unanimously.

Diwan Bahadur R. VENKATARATNAM NAYUDU:—" Mr. President, I crave leave to move and to request on behalf of the House that you, as our universally respected President, will be pleased to communicate the resolution, which has been now adopted in such warm and grateful spirit by the whole House, to the esteemed gentleman whose retirement from his exalted office we all so sincerely deplore, and to his successor, the Secretary of State, to His Excellency the Viceroy and to the Government of India.

" Sir, if I may be permitted to say just one word in this connection, I shall say this. At the dinner given in his honour when he was on leave between relinquishing the Governorship of Bombay and assuming the reins of office here, His Excellency our present Governor stated as the reason for his coming to Madras, that there was a Montagu that shaped his ends. (Cheers). May I, Sir, be permitted to trace back that quotation to its origin and say, there is a divinity that assigned a Montagu to shape the 'ends' of India. Sir, I am a believer in the poet's vision that 'through the ages one increasing purpose runs', and in that purpose to me the master note is, as the same poet has said, that union when East and West will with one breath mingle their life and light into a broader and brighter day for whole humanity. Hence to me, Sir, it is a point of faith that providence has designed to employ in this glorious work of thus leading East and West to mingle their life and light, one of the remarkable race which through the vicissitudes of centuries, traces its inspiration to that holy land which is on the border line between East and West. Therefore, I hold it was in the fitness of things that Mr. Montagu should have been chosen to lay the foundation stone of the grand holy place where East and West will in due course meet to worship. (Hear, hear). With these words, Sir, I once again crave, on behalf of the House, your services in communicating this resolution to the authorities concerned."

The motion was put to the House and carried.

The hon. the PRESIDENT:—" I shall do it with pleasure."

III

DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS FOR 1921-22.

The hon. Sir CHARLES TODHUNTER:—" May I move, Sir, for an adjournment of the whole of these demands till the close of the budget debate in order to enable the Finance Committee to examine them beforehand?"

The hon. Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD HABIB-UL-LAH SAHIB Bahadur:—" I second it."

The motion was put and agreed to.